

Message Text

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ORIGIN AF-04

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TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BERN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BRASILIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA IMMEDIATE

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AMEMBASSY COLOMBO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JAKARTA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY KINGSTON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG IMMEDIATE

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AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OSLO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PANAMA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK IMMEDIATE

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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
JCS/SECDEF IMMEDIATE
CIA IMMEDIATE
NSC IMMEDIATE
MT AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY GABORONE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 206698

LIMDIS - AF INFORM CONSULATES AS APPROPRIATE

E.O. 11652: GDS

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TAGS: RH, UK, PDEV,

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS FOR RHODESIA WHICH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL SOON MAKE PUBLIC, PROBABLY ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, IN THE FORM OF HMG WHITE PAPER. THE ANNEXES REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT ARE LENGTHY AND, TO AVOID UNNECESSARY COMMUNICATIONS WORK, WILL BE CABLED ONLY TO THOSE POSTS WHICH HAVE A REAL AND PRESSING NEED FOR THEM. WE ASSUME THAT YOUR BRITISH COLLEAGUES HAVE OR WILL SOON HAVE ACCESS TO THE ENTIRE TEXT, INCLUDING THE ANNEXES, AND MAY WISH TO SHARE THEM WITH YOU. WE WILL POUCH THE COMPLETE WHITE PAPER TO YOU AS SOON AS COPIES ARE AVAILABLE HERE, PROBABLY LATE THIS WEEK.

2. INDIVIDUAL ADDRESSEE POSTS WILL RECEIVE SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS ON APPROACHES TO HOST GOVERNMENTS. UNTIL THOSE INSTRUCTIONS ARE RECEIVED HOWEVER, YOU SHOULD HOLD THIS DOCUMENT ONLY FOR YOUR OWN INFORMATION AND FOR BACKGROUND IN ANY CONVERSATIONS YOU MAY HAVE WITH UK COLLEAGUES.

BEGIN TEXT:

RHODESIA: PROPOSALS FOR A SETTLEMENT

1. ON 10 MARCH 1977 THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS AGREED TO WORK TOGETHER ON A JOINT PEACE INITIATIVE TO ACHIEVE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA. THE OBJECTIVE WAS AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE WITH MAJORITY RULE IN 1978.

2. TO SUCCEED, ANY SETTLEMENT MUST COMMAND THE SUPPORT OF THOSE PEOPLE OF GOODWILL OF ALL RACES AND CREEDS WHO INTEND TO LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE AS CITIZENS
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OF ZIMBABWE. AMONGST THESE PEOPLE THERE ARE NOW MANY CONFLICTING INTERESTS AND VIEWS. THERE IS AN ATMOSPHERE OF DEEP DISTRUST. THE ARMED STRUGGLE HAS LED TO THE LOSS OF MANY LIVES AND TO MUCH HUMAN SUFFERING. THE ECONOMY HAS BEEN GRAVELY WEAKENED. BUT THERE IS SURELY ONE OVERRIDING COMMON INTEREST, THAT PEACE SHOULD BE RESTORED AND THAT GOVERNMENT WITH THE CONSENT AND IN THE INTEREST OF ALL THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED.

3. IN APRIL THE BRITISH FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY TOURED THE AREA AND MET ALL THE PARTIES TO THE PROBLEM AS WELL AS THE PRESIDENTS OF THE FIVE FRONT-LINE STATES, THE PRIME MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE COMMISSIONER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF NIGERIA. HE SET OUT THE ELEMENTS WHICH, TAKEN TOGETHER, COULD IN THE VIEW OF THE TWO GOVERNMENTS COMPRISE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, AS FOLLOWS:

(A) A CONSTITUTION FOR INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FOR

(1) A DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENT, WITH THE WIDEST POSSIBLE FRANCHISE:

(2) A BILL OF RIGHTS TO PROTECT INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS ON THE BASIS OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. THE BILL WOULD BE QUOTE ENTRENCHED UNQUOTE SO THAT AMENDMENT OF IT WOULD BE MADE SUBJECT TO SPECIAL LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURES AND IT WOULD GIVE THE RIGHT TO AN INDIVIDUAL WHO BELIEVED HIS RIGHTS WERE BEING INFRINGED TO SEEK REDRESS THROUGH THE COURTS:
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(3) AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY.

(B) A TRANSITION PERIOD COVERING THE SURRENDER OF

POWER BY THE PRESENT REGIME, THE INSTALLATION OF A NEUTRAL CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION WHOSE PRIMARY ROLE, IN ADDITION TO ADMINISTERING THE COUNTRY, WOULD BE THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF ELECTIONS IN CONDITIONS OF PEACE AND SECURITY AND THE PREPARATION OF THE COUNTRY FOR THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THIS PERIOD IT WAS ENVISAGED, WOULD BE AS SHORT AS POSSIBLE, AND IN ANY CASE NOT MORE THAN SIX MONTHS:

(C) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONALLY CONSTITUTED AND MANAGED DEVELOPMENT FUND (THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND).

4. FOLLOWING THAT TOUR, DR. OWEN AND MR. VANCE MET IN LONDON ON 6 MAY AND AGREED TO CARRY FORWARD THEIR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES ON THE BASIS OF THESE PROPOSALS. TO THIS END THEY ESTABLISHED A JOINT CONSULTATIVE GROUP. THE GROUP MET ALL THE PARTIES ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS IN LONDON AND IN AFRICA AND CARRIED OUT DETAILED TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS WITH THEM. IN PARALLEL, THE GOVERNMENTS OF INTERESTED COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN KEPT INFORMED GENERALLY OF THE PROGRESS OF THE CONSULTATIONS.

5. ON THE BASIS OF THESE CONSULTATIONS THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN FULL AGREEMENT WITH THE US GOVERNMENT, HAVE NOW DECIDED TO PUT FIRM PROPOSALS FORWARD, COVERING THE THREE ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM DESCRIBED ABOVE. IN DOING SO THEY EMPHASIZE THAT THE THREE ASPECTS ARE INTIMATELY LINKED AND MUST BE JUDGED AS A WHOLE. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR EVERY SINGLE ASPECT OF A CONFIDENTIAL

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SETTLEMENT TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO EVERYONE. THE BEST, IF NOT THE ONLY, HOPE FOR A SETTLEMENT IS A BALANCED AND FAIR PACKAGE IN WHICH, THOUGH NO ONE MAY ACHIEVE ALL HIS AIMS, EVERYONE CAN SEE HOPE FOR THE FUTURE.

THE CONSTITUTION

6. IT IS PROPOSED THAT THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION SHOULD PROVIDE THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD BE A SOVEREIGN REPUBLIC. PROVISION WOULD BE MADE FOR DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS ON THE BASIS OF ONE MAN, ONE VOTE AND ONE WOMAN, ONE VOTE, FOR A SINGLE-CHAMBER NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. ELECTIONS WOULD BE ON THE BASIS OF SINGLE-MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES. DETAILED CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS ARE SET OUT AT ANNEX A TO THIS DOCUMENT. THE PROPOSALS

SHOULD NOT NECESSARILY BE TAKEN AS EXCLUDING ALTERNATIVE POSSIBILITIES IN CERTAIN AREAS WHICH DO NOT GO TO THE HEART OF THE CONSTITUTION: EG PROVISION IS MADE FOR

AN EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT WITH A VICE-PRESIDENT, BUT THERE MIGHT INSTEAD BE A CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENT AND A PRIME MINISTER, IN WHICH CASE MANY OF THE POWERS WHICH IT IS PROPOSED TO VEST IN THE PRESIDENT WOULD BE VESTED IN THE PRIME MINISTER OR WOULD BE EXERCISED BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE ADVICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER.

7. DISCRIMINATION WOULD BE FORBIDDEN BY A BILL OF RIGHTS PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS. AS DESCRIBED ABOVE (PARA 3(A)(2)) THIS BILL OF RIGHTS WOULD BE ENTRENCHED IN THE CONSTITUTION AND WOULD BE JUSTICIABLE SO THAT AGGRIEVED INDIVIDUALS COULD ENFORCE THEIR RIGHTS THROUGH THE COURTS. THE BILL OF RIGHTS WOULD PERMIT THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE TO CONFIDENTIAL

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INTRODUCE MEASURES OF LAND REFORM WHILE GUARANTEEING THE RIGHT TO PRIVATE PROPERTY. THE CONSTITUTION WOULD ALSO ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY AND AN INDEPENDENT PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION TO ENSURE AN EFFICIENT AND NON-POLITICAL CIVIL SERVICE.

8. THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE WOULD INHERIT THE ASSETS AND DEBTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA AND WOULD TAKE OVER PAST AND PRESENT PENSIONS OBLIGATIONS IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR, THE RIGHTS OF THE PENSIONERS BEING GUARANTEED BY THE CONSTITUTION. THE CONSTITUTION WOULD CONTAIN THE BASIC PROVISIONS REGULATING ZIMBABWE CITIZENSHIP AND THESE WOULD BE ENTRENCHED. THE QUESTION WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE ANY RESTRICTIONS ON THE POSSESSION OF DUAL CITIZENSHIP AND IF SO, WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE AN EXTENDED PERIOD DURING WHICH THE CHOICE MUST BE MADE, WOULD BE A MATTER FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH THE PARTIES.

9. THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS IN LONDON EXPRESSED THE UNANIMOUS HOPE THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD SOON BECOME A MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL DO EVERYTHING TO FACILITATE THIS.

THE TRANSITION

10. IT IS A BASIC PREMISE OF THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS THAT THE PRESENT ILLEGAL REGIME WILL SURRENDER POWER SO THAT THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION MAY BE INSTALLED PEACEFULLY. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS WILL TAKE SUCH STEPS AS SEEM TO THEM APPROPRIATE TO

SECURE THE TRANSFER OF POWER BY MR. SMITH (OR HIS SUCCESSOR) ON A DAY TO BE AGREED.

11. THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL PLACE BEFORE THE

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SECURITY COUNCIL THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION (ANNEX A) AND ALSO THEIR PROPOSAL FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY OF RHODESIA DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD LEADING UP TO INDEPENDENCE. THE LATTER WILL COMPRISE THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

(A) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, EITHER UNDER EXISTING STATUTORY POWERS OR UNDER NEW POWERS ENACTED FOR THE PURPOSE, OF A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND A DEPUTY. THE ROLE OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WILL BE TO ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY, TO ORGANIZE AND CONDUCT THE GENERAL ELECTION WHICH, WITHIN A PERIOD NOT EXCEEDING SIX MONTHS, WILL LEAD TO INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE, AND TO TAKE COMMAND, AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, OF ALL ARMED FORCES IN RHODESIA, APART FROM THE UNITED NATIONS ZIMBABWE FORCE.

(B) THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UN, ON THE AUTHORITY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, OF A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WHOSE ROLE WILL BE TO WORK WITH THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND TO OBSERVE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COUNTRY AND THE ORGANIZATION AND CONDUCT OF THE ELECTIONS IS FAIR AND IMPARTIAL:

(C) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY RESOLUTION OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF A UNITED NATIONS ZIMBABWE FORCE WHOSE ROLE MAY INCLUDE: 1) THE SUPERVISION OF THE CEASEFIRE (SEE BELOW); 2) SUPPORT FOR THE CIVIL POWER; 3) LIAISON WITH THE EXISTING RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES AND WITH THE FORCES OF THE LIBERATION ARMIES. THE SECRETARY GENERAL WILL BE INVITED TO APPOINT A REPRESENTATIVE TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS BEFORE THE TRANSITION PERIOD WITH THE BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER-DESIGNATE
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AND WITH ALL THE PARTIES WITH A VIEW TO ESTABLISHING IN DETAIL THE RESPECTIVE ROLES OF ALL THE FORCES IN RHODESIA.

(D) THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WILL LIE WITH THE POLICE FORCES. THEY WILL BE UNDER THE COMMAND OF A COMMISSIONER OF POLICE WHO WILL BE APPOINTED BY AND RESPONSIBLE TO THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL

OF THE UN MAY APPOINT LIAISON OFFICERS TO THE POLICE FORCES:

(E) THE FORMATION, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION, OF A NEW ZIMBABWE NATIONAL ARMY WHICH WILL IN DUE COURSE REPLACE ALL EXISTING ARMED FORCES IN RHODESIA AND WILL BE THE ARMY OF THE FUTURE INDEPENDENT STATE OF ZIMBABWE;

(F) THE ESTABLISHMENT BY THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER OF AN ELECTORAL AND BOUNDARY COMMISSION, WITH THE ROLE OF CARRYING OUT THE REGISTRATION OF VOTERS, THE DELIMITATION OF CONSTITUENCIES AND THE HOLDING OF A GENERAL ELECTION FOR THE PURPOSES OF THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION. ON THE AGREED DAY ON WHICH POWER IS TRANSFERRED TO THE TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION (PARA 10 ABOVE), A CEASEFIRE WILL COME INTO EFFECT WITHIN RHODESIA AND MEASURES WILL BE TAKEN TO LIFT SANCTIONS.

12. AN OUTLINE OF THE TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION IS AT ANNEX B.

THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND

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13. THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, JOINTLY SPONSORED BY THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS, WILL HAVE AS A TARGET A MINIMUM APPROACHING ONE BILLION DOLLARS AND A MAXIMUM RATHER LESS THAN ONE AND A HALF BILLION DOLLARS, TO WHICH GOVERNMENTS IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD WILL BE ASKED TO CONTRIBUTE. ITS PURPOSE WILL BE TO PROVIDE FUNDS FOR THE ECONOMIC STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE THROUGH ASSISTANCE TO VARIOUS SECTORS AND PROGRAMMES SUCH AS RURAL DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION, HEALTH, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE, AND RESETTLEMENT AND TRAINING SCHEMES FOR AFRICANS, INCLUDING THOSE AFFECTED BY THE PRESENT CONFLICT. THE OPERATIONS OF THE FUND WOULD HELP TO ENSURE THAT THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE ZIMBABWE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE SETTLEMENT WILL NOT INHIBIT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE FOR LACK OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE AND THEREBY ALSO HELP TO REASSURE THOSE WHO MAY FEAR THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT MAY BE UNABLE TO CARRY OUT THESE OBLIGATIONS. THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUED OPERATION OF THE FUND ARE PREDICATED UPON THE ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TERMS OF THE SETTLEMENT AS A WHOLE. A MORE DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE PROPOSED FUND IS AT ANNEX C.

CONCLUSION:

14. THE BRITISH AND US GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE THAT THE ABOVE PROPOSALS PROVIDE FOR ALL THE CITIZENS OF THE

INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE SECURITY, BUT NOT PRIVILEGE,
UNDER THE RULE OF LAW, EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS WITHOUT
DISCRIMINATION, AND THE RIGHT TO BE GOVERNED BY A
GOVERNMENT OF THEIR OWN CHOICE. THEY ALSO BELIEVE
THAT THE PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TRANSFER OF
POWER ARE CALCULATED TO ENSURE A QUICK, ORDERLY AND
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PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE. THEY HAVE
AGREED TO USE THEIR JOINT INFLUENCE TO THE FULL TO
PUT THE PROPOSALS INTO EFFECT. BUT A LASTING SETTLEMENT
CANNOT BE IMPOSED FROM OUTSIDE: IT IS THE PEOPLE OF
ZIMBABWE WHO MUST ACHIEVE THEIR OWN INDEPENDENCE.
THESE PROPOSALS OFFER THEM A WAY. THE TWO GOVERNMENTS
URGE THEM TO SEIZE THE OPPORTUNITY. VANCE

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